634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
●771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On ●771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

791 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely geneological localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

123 panda, a kampong about thirty kilometers to the west along the coast road. The drive was very
133 scary above tremendous cliffs above the sea, but the scenery was magnificent, with Pulo Ende in the bay and the mountains all around. The road is extremely dangerous, especially when the rains come. The kampongs here seem to be
• [771] mainly Mohammedan. They are shabby. Only one
36] side, that which faces the sea, of Pulo Ende, is inhabited.

123 When we returned it was too late, although the men were sitting in the pasanggrahan. We talked
[582] for a little while and I got some information on the non-existence of strict exogamous marriage rules. We also talked a little about a map and the schedule with the assistant. Then we took them back to the kampong. We did nothing more that day, but the kapitan suggested that we go to Kilimutu, the colored lake mountain, on the next day, Sunday. I refused at first, but then thought that I might as well and get it over. I note that
[181] these people are not retiring and respectful like the Buginese, although the kapitan is really quite polite. Still he has an eye on the jeep as a means of getting around. They are all mad over the camera and talk constantly about photographs I should take and give to them. I could easily lose my patience with them. They keep asking for things.

126 The next day we went to the kampong at seven
123 in the morning and tried to get away fast. But we had to take photographs, and I was almost deluged with requests for more from all sides. I took pictures of the two old mosa laki, the kapitan, etc. The old mother of the kapitan, a good type with the usual betel teeth, asked me through the interpreter to take her photograph before she died. I said I would on the return
123 from the lakes. Finally we got off, and I had a terrible struggle insisting that I could take

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764 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression [181] that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 197 ●771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

000 notable.

797 177 346 [614] The church in Riangkamiè is built with reference to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin, Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the [171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 178 243 796 He told much that was interesting. There is in paganism here a need for a girl to be the rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1] tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] War Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan. 578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed 411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not 511 because they were hungry and need land. And [578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1][See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there, and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer type, and it is strange that she is not married. I get the idea there is some friction between her and her father. She had five years of schooling at the sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office), and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
●771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter. The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We talked a great deal about adat and then came back to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong for this). Women were also hauling water from this place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon. There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as many as one hundred houses and a possible population of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in area where there is a large bench for sleeping. There is also a bale-bale (sleeping bench) under the roof and often in front too. Here sit the women while they work. If there are two families to a house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel as in other kampongs. The church to which everyone here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are standard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue and black mostly. The designs are even poorer than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used for men and for women. They say that a cloth takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women, have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, unlike in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells, and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are

796 241 574 527 separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.

[614] [342] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically uninhabited (as usual between the coast and mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station at Todabelu, where there were many modern buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well as a trade school. All of these were notably advanced over anything else we have seen in Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd for the day, and football games were held. These are the great sport all over Indonesia now, and it is coming even into the remote kampongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is striking, especially that of the men. It consists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed teeth, and in addition many had blackened them. Earboring is a general practice here, but as usual the younger men may have the holes but no rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot, although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded roofs. They are built on piles definitely, unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses built on a single post. They are called nadu

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[799] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here, and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
241 methods are better and so are the houses, and
364 the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

We
771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
[291] tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes, and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

1 [See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cit. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive. Every-

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
• 771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers [771] that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

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624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price must be paid at marriage. There is no post-marriage payment in order to get the children back. Thus there is real ambil anak here. The man remains a member of his own sib, and the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes the "married woman" totem taboos of her own sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofeo.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is one for each of the four suku. There are no other suku in the kampong. There are also plenty of belongings in the house. It is rather large, about twelve meters on a side. There are baskets and other objects therein. This old kampong is only one kilometer off the road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
[769] Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku Djo'bi.

●791 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi, far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
212 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

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• 791 178 all pagans then,[1] and all parents of the present adults of about thirty or older were pagan. My assistant's father was.

872 [171] The lower school here consists of three grades. It is a mission school although the government evidently makes a contribution to it. In Ndona (seven kilometers by road, four kilometers across the hills, and the children walk there) there are eight grades. Until the present there is only one from here who has gone as far as class seven, and ten in class six. The school in Ndona is the highest level school around here (and perhaps in all Flores) except for the seminary. The eighth grade qualifies one for the job of guru.

There are two children here who go to school in Ende where there is a connecting or intermediate school and a middle school, I think.

[171] There are few Mohammedans here, and no Koran school. They must go to Ende for this.

871 185 178 Everyone here is very much in favor of education. Formerly, there was a bit of trouble with the oldsters who saw no sense (and I suspect did not like the mission tie-up) in such things. But now everyone wants his children to go to school. They are anxious to have both their girls and boys go to school, although they are perhaps a bit more interested in education for their boys. If a girl is clever, however, they want her to advance too.

888 212 The children do show a bit of a superiority feeling toward the illiterate oldsters, but there is almost always a great show of respect. And the illiterate old folk are not ashamed. They are only farmers, anyway, they say.

798 872 178 When Catholicism came in first, there was much trouble, and the elders scolded hard. After the school came in, in 1921, there was no more trouble. They say and insist that the pagan elders make no trouble at all for the Catholic children

[1] [i.e., fifty years ago.--Analyst]

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829 that the big radja here is in Ende, and that's all.

609 The general attitude toward the Dutch has
648 always been one of fear. This is not a speci-
[197] fic fear and is not equivalent to the resent-
ment one sees in Larantuka caused by stern rule and frequent jailing. He says that the real reason is that they do not know what they fear, and they can't even talk with or understand the Dutch. The Dutch speak only Malay, and few of the local people here speak Malay. They just tried to avoid the Dutch, and that was easy. As the status of Malay began to rise, there was a bit of a change among the young people, but there was little thought about or contact with or talk concerning the Dutch at any time.

What I have just said is even more true of the mountain areas. Whenever aliens come into the neighborhood they just run away. Thus when Migo goes there for tax work, he sees only the kepala kampong, unless he lures the adat chiefs with tobacco, and other presents. I asked him why he was afraid. After all, he could speak their language. Then he shifted ground and said nothing specific, and stated that they do not even fear taxes, but they have the attitude that any outsider should be avoided.
[515] Also, he says that they are so dirty in the mountains that they are ashamed to meet outsiders. (If this is so, they at least are conscious of dirt.) Their clothes are bad and dirty, and they never bathe. The women and children are especially filthy. He says it is too cold in the mountains to bathe. The water is especially cold, even in midday. This is a queer business.

Religion does not mix in with politics here.
●771 There is no trouble with Mohammedanism either. They don't talk much about such things. Even

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771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 797 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 183 Then I got some real data: There are Catholic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

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793 The first real pastor was placed in Riang Kamië in 1926. Before this there was only a guru (a chapel, that is).

771 162 About eighty per cent of the population here is Christian. (Note from the partial Leloba census that there are still pagans there too.)

797 Roy repeats that there were three phases in the Christianization of this area: the easy welcome, the troubled period, and that of resignation. There are two gurus in Wailolong: one from Larantuka town and the other from Bama. This, he says, delays the speed of Christianization, because they are "aliens." It is better to have local gurus. He clearly implies that the reason Leloba became Christian so fast is that he did it, as a powerful local man. He repeats that Laba, the last powerful pagan, argued against him quite a bit.

Leloba now has one guru (the assistant of my assistant). Roy resigned actively in 1940. Nearly all of Leloba is Christian.

Roy says that they are first given instruction in Christianity and then baptized. Thus there are a lot of "aspirants."

771 797 782 There are no Mohammedans here. When I asked why, he said it would be impossible, because pig killing and pig eating is so important a part of the ritual life that a Mohammedan could not get along here. (I see clearly in this the real actual importance of the pork taboo in holding back Mohammedanism. I remember this being said in Toradja country, and I think also in Ambon.)

Another deterrent to Mohammedanism is that Mohammedans could not slaughter in accordance with the old rules. They would have to kill according to Mohammedan custom, and this simply couldn't be. Thus it is remarkable to see how strong the old killing theme is here, that is, the ritual and the custom, and how all of this

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771 actually makes Mohammedanism impossible. Mo-
797 hammedanism is out here because it (1) taboos
782 certain kinds of flesh, which Christianity does not and (2) because it requires a special kind of slaughtering, which Christianity does not. This is an amazing case of how a "small" thing can explain why a great religion fails and why another succeeds.

624 Roy went further and said that it is impos-
782 sible to have a radja tuan system or even several radja tuan without pigs and ritual killing. The pig killing rite is thus the very center of the whole social scheme. (I had some
[262] pork here, and it was fat, greasy, and tough. But these folks are always hungry evidently, and even more so perhaps now than ever. Again I see how meat means so much.)

162 Perhaps twenty per cent of the Wailolong
771 population is still pagan (see the census). In Leloba there are perhaps only twenty persons who are still not Christian. But these are, or at least some of them, preparing for baptism. They are mostly old people. However, they burst out, there are plenty of persons in both kampongs who are only partially Christian. They think of them as being half pagan as they do not understand much about Christianity. They are Christians in name only.

797 And, Roy said, when I said that Krol said that Catholicism allowed plenty of ceremonies that if this were not so perhaps Catholicism would lo[illegible] many adherents. The Catholics must comprom[illegible]se. Thus the gurus agree with the priests. Moreover, just as Krol said, they wouldn't get any more converts if they became too rough on the pagan customs. Thus I see that the way here is to make haste slowly, and to let the pagans keep as much as possible, and to gradually wean the young to the true one hundred per cent faith. This is clever and it

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796 story is clear in their minds.
241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were sent all over the island. Here we clearly have a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[74] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and human sacrifice of this sort may not have come into Flores with an eastward migration. There is a fair chance, I think, that they had at least two migrations into Flores: one from the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the other from the east, the Negroid migration, and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailolong still uses them. The Catholics do not make much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them (could it be because they are substitutes for the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so far in this largely Catholic area. It shows how recent and relatively partial the Catholic hold on the population is here. It also shows how strong the agricultural base of paganism is and how important food can be in these terribly poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a chance, even with the old gods.

[771] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements here at all.

[346] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the "adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

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871 once solely in the hands of the mission, but
658 they are now given government support. This
797 is a curious situation. I see more of the same thing in Roworeke, where the Mohammedan problem enters.

• 771 There are plenty of debates in Leloba about
798 religion always, and this was especially true in the days when Catholicism was coming in. Roy talked ceaselessly with the last pagan power, Laba. However, there was much less debate in Wailolong. In fact, Roy says that Wailolong is not much interested in religion, and he says that this is largely because the gurus there are outside men. They have little influence. And thus again we see the closed world aspect of this situation. Even when preaching the universal religion, a man has to be from the Belakang Gunung region and even from the very same kampong in order to get much of a hearing. I suppose the pastors are an exception. They are such big medicine that they can even be Dutch. I note, however, that probably Holland is so far off that it is like "a far-off heaven" and there is therefore no friction with the little closed world here. Roy says that Wailolong is not much for Christianity at all. Thus I see what I first saw, that Wailolong is really a pagan kampong with a Catholic name. That is why paganism shows up so clearly. And it may also be why there is no particular love for Leloba here, and why Roy is so much afraid to work there, or at least why he was so afraid at first. He actually feared being snubbed.

Roy predicts that the last pure pagan will have died in another ten years. There is knowledge only of Catholicism and pagan cults here. Hence there is no "comparative religion." Note again that Christianity means Catholic. Protestants are evidently seldom mentioned. How nice for tolerance!

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Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

The assistant says that this area is about sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

There are two school teachers in Watu Roga, and two religious teachers. The school building belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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875 797 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 797 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Roworeke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 [755] The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 [753] There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)

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527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 [23] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

• 771 I asked about the religion here as given in
114 my notes from Elbert[1], who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.

[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.

776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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124 will tell them. He says that the pastors do
[797] not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of
565 them are Christian, says the kraeng. About
796 thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian,
189 says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at
[115] Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

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565 of Flores, so unlike the radjas of Celebes.
582 This is a correction of some of the previous notes, because he had said that radjas, dalu and gelarang intermarried only among each other. The truth seems to be that all except the mendi are intermarriageable.

There is still great feeling against marrying a descendant of a mendi. For example, in Pau, where there are about ten persons descended from mendi, there have been a few marriages of these families with commoners, but never with gelarang families (e.g., the assistant's). The assistant says that he would never want his daughter to marry a mendi descendant. I pressed hard on this, and asked him if he would not be willing to have his daughter marry a mendi descendant if, for example, he became a great man in Indonesia, along with the new democracy. He said absolutely not. This is a Catholic, young and educated fellow. Then I asked about his son, should he want to marry a mendi girl. He said there would be much less resistance in this case.

Among the uppers there is a great deal of inter-district marriage, for example, at the radja, dalu, gelarang and kraeng levels. There is also some inter-district marriage among the commoners.

789 The only magic power known is in the hands
756 of the mbako. They can give magical strength
565 to individuals. Thus again I see how important and powerful are these secret persons. The nobles, however, have no kekuatan adjaib.

797 The only major change in the local religion has been the introduction of Catholicism, and it has been epochal.

● 771 About fifty per cent of the local people are
788 Catholic. Just about every family has at least
183 one Catholic in it. If a Catholic wants to attend community rites, this is all right, but he

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771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version)[2] for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

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797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

●771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

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805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

[1. i.e., the assistant--Analyst]
[2 [pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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●771 conservative, but not fanatic. Cornelius[1] says that they do not analyze the situation by thinking of what good things Catholicism has brought. Opposition is in the form of criticism, not in terms of a balance of good and bad. Just about all education is in the hands of the mission, although schools are paid for mainly by the government. Even in Mohammedan Reo, I found, the schools are mission run.

[871] [797] [658]

The people here do not debate very much about religious matters, but they do criticize the Catholic opposition to polygyny and feasts. There are no real debates or discussions, however, not even within families.

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In regard to other religions, they know only Catholicism. All they know about Mohammedanism is that they eat no pork and are allowed four wives. There is no knowledge of other cults.

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764 Formerly, in disposing of the dead, a mat was used, not a coffin. Today boxes are used everywhere. The big change in funeral rites has been the addition of Catholic rites, but the old ones are carried out too, as in the case of the wedding. When someone dies, everyone howls, and this includes men and women. Then two or three children carry a spear around the area, telling who has died. A few people from each house come to the house of the dead. They place the dead on a mat, on the floor, with the head toward the door. A cloth is placed over the whole body including the face. Thus the body remains on the floor for one day. A coffin is made. The dead is dressed in fine clothes. A few carefully saved silver coins are usually put in the mouth of the dead.

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At the cemetery a man hits the ground five times with a stick before the grave is dug. When the grave is ready, they bring the coffin and bury the body. The reason for hitting the ground five times is in hope that in this way

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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624 Djurutulis (scribe)	475
614 Mandur	382
Guru sekolah (school teacher)	94
Mandur sekolah	313
Molang	616
Marang besar (prayer leader)	616
Marang besar	626
Radja tua (Lewodoreng) of Riang Epu Kohule	672

624 162 871 771 212

Examining the ranks by age, education, and religion, we find the following (and not all information is in yet; see letter to him):

(1) Of the 5 kelake suku, 1 is in his 30's, 3 are in their 50's, and 1 is in his 60's;
1 has finished 3 grades of school, 4 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic and 4 are pagan.

(2) Of the 13 kelake ama, 1 is in his 30's, and 4 are in their 40's, 5 are in their 50's, and 3 are in their 60's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, 11 are illiterate;
2 are Catholic and 11 are pagan.

(3) Of the 3 kepala kampongs, 1 is in his 30's, 1 is in his 40's, and 1 is in his 50's;
2 have finished 3 grades of schooling, and 1 is illiterate;
all 3 are Catholic.

(4) The djurutulis is 36;
he has finished 3 grades of schooling;
and he is Catholic.

(5) The mandur is 40, illiterate, and Catholic.

(6) The guru sekolah is 30; he finished 8 grades

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162 of schooling; and he is a Catholic.
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871 (7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades,
771 and he is Catholic.
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(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

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ROWOREKE

621 Sections are:
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I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

5: Kennedy--415 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia Flores OF9

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	Pagan	Mohammedan	Christian	% Pagan	% Mohammedan	% Christian
162 771 I	60	3	90	39	2	59
II	15	6	37	26	10	64
III	22	0	27	45	0	55
IV	6	0	15	29	0	71
V	10	4	17	32	13	55
VI	17	0	20	46	0	54
VII	14	0	26	35	0	65
VIII	7	4	30	17	10	73
IX	18	5	7	60	17	23
X	26	4	45	35	5	60
XI	0	65	0	0	100	0
XII	8	18	19	18	40	45
Total	203	109	333	31	17	52

	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled
162 871 I	54	99	35
II	18	40	31
III	11	38	22
IV	7	14	33
V	7	24	23
VI	4	33	11
VII	12	28	30
VIII	9	32	22
IX	1	29	3
X	26	49	35
XI	10	55	16
XII	4	41	9
Totals	163	482	25

Schooled by age-periods:

Under 10	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over
32	75	19	18	17	2	0

5: Kennedy--416 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

R

162 871 [771]	Schooled:	Christian	146	44%
		Mohammedan	14	13%
		Pagan	3	1.4% (all 1 grade only)
[562]	Schooled:	Male	111	35%
		Female	52	16%

Schooled above 3 grades:

Grade 4: three: (ages) 40 (Christian, male), 25 (Christian, male), 15(Christian, male).

Grade 5: six: (ages) 40 (Christian, male) /Assistant/, 40 (Christian, male) /Mandur/, 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 12 (Christian, male), 10 /?/ (Christian, male).

Grade 6: five: (ages) 50 (Christian, male) /Ceram/, 15 (Christian, male), 15 (Christian, male), 14 (Christian, male), 9 /?/ (Christian, female).

R

565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

Wa

VEOL--NDUNG

162 621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5:Kennedy--426 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OBl Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

162
771

	Pagan	Christian	% Pagan	% Christian
Veol	74	66	53	47
Ndung	72	134	35	65
Total	146	200	42	58

162
871

	Schooled	Illiterate	% Schooled	Males Schooled	Females Schooled
Veol	20	120	14	13	7
Ndung	22	184	11	14	8
Total	42 (all Christian)	304	12	27	15

[771]

Ages of Those Schooled

	Under 10	10--19	20--29	30--39	40--49	50--59	Over 60
Veol	-	14	3	3	-	-	-
Ndung	9	6	2	5	-	-	-
Total	9	20	5	8	-	-	-

Above 3 grades

Veol: 1 (16 years old, male, 6 grades)
Ndung: 1 (15 years old, male, 4 grades)

CLASS

162
565

	Dalu	Gelarang	Leke	Mangko Pitu	Sekontu	Lempang
Veol	21	109	0	5	1	4
Ndung	20	177	3	1	0	5
Total	41	286	3	6	1	9
(Women	14					

(All these married in)

We.

Officers: Veol

	No.	Clan	Age	Religion	Education
162 624 614 771 212					
Tuan tanah	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga lambar	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rimpeng	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rundu	62	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 1	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 2	44	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 3	127	Papang	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 4	122	Leko	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 5	80	Veol	35	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 6	99	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	1	Veol	50	Pagan	Illiterate

Officers: Ndung

Tuan tanah	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan panga Rosong	168	Veol	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan panga Nggurus	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 7	304	Tjarep	30	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 8	324	Senda	20?	Christian	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 9	347	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 10	214	Veol	25	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 11	186	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 12	193	Veol	60	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 13	285	Leko	50	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 14	260	Manong	45	Pagan	Illiterate
Tuan mbaru 15	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate
Kepala kampong	(Lives in Meler)				
Tuan panga Rosong (helper)	151	Veol	60	Christian	Illiterate

We

614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771
614
212 (Numbers refer to ages)

Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu, 1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

We

595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others
614 are pagan.
212 All three are from different clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others are gelarang.
The husband has finished three grades; the wives are illiterate.

[587] (Note: The 2d wife lives in another house with her children. Because the children are of the same clan as her present husband, and she is a widow, this is perhaps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3 grades, the wives are illiterate.